Everyone Here in West Cumbria

Culture, Infrastructure and Ecology

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University of Lancashire

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West Cumbrian views

Creative People and Places

Creative People and Places (CPP) is, in the words of Arts Council England, 'A National Lottery-funded programme created […] to allocate investment to parts of the country where involvement in arts and culture is significantly below the national average. Its aims are to transform the opportunities open to people in those places, support the public in shaping local arts and cultural provision and, in so doing, increase attendance and participation in publicly funded art and culture' (ACE, 2021: 66).

This Learning Partner report focuses on one aspect of the University of Lancashire's work with the West Cumbria CPP programme, Everyone Here, which the University have been involved with from the initial conceptualisation and bidding phase in early 2020 through to the present (with Everyone Here now at the end of its first 4-year funding phase). The report concerns issues of cultural infrastructure and cultural ecology in West Cumbria and how these relate to challenges faced by Everyone Here as it initially sought to established itself, and its subsequent work in influencing how both of those things – cultural infrastructure and ecology – have been confronted and renewed through the action research ethos that Everyone Here's practices bring into being.

Suffice it to say that the infrastructure of a healthy and vibrant place should be thought to incorporate *cultural* infrastructure. But what do we mean by terms like cultural infrastructure and cultural ecology?

We can think of the former not just in terms of the obvious: i.e., organisations, their property or premises, the assets or resources they possess and are able to make use of, and so on. We must also think of the cultural infrastructure as including people. Without people none of those conventional infrastructural elements are any use. And it is not only people who work in 'culture and the arts' who form part of the cultural infrastructure of places, but all kinds of people, of all ages, who are able partake in the broad array of interactions, opportunities and relationships that create the 'complex of interdependencies' that sustain cultural life (Holden, 2015: 2).

A healthy cultural infrastructure involves opportunities for people to be culturally active, but not simply as consumers or spectators of cultural products and events, but as makers and creators: participants of, and contributors to, the cultural life of any place. In a report commissioned by the Creative People and Places network, the authors define 'cultural ecology' in relation to the sustainability of arts interventions through the ways in which they are adapted to places and circumstances, and thus to the social and physical environments in which they are made (Gross and Wilson, 2020).

An awareness of the intrinsic value of cultural participation in the life of any place would seem to be a precondition for developing an understanding of how and why such infrastructures and ecologies produce the impetus for 'adaptive processes' (Steward, 1977: 45) and, indeed, the self-generating forms of cultural activity that may contribute to and extend the well-being of people and the places in which they live.

Forthcoming reports from the University of Lancashire will expand our Learning Partner responses to broader questions resulting from the future development of Everyone Here's citizen's jury model and Community Evaluation framework as they change in form and scope of activity. We will also look at the relationship between specific programmes or initiatives and, for example, questions of governance and well-being.

Executive Summary

- This report draws on observations and interactions with the Everyone Here (EH) programme over the period 2022 to 2026. It explores particular challenges that EH faced during its initial phases of activity in West Cumbria

- The work of EH is seen within long-standing infrastructural and economic issues in West Cumbria that make this Creative People and Places programme unique in the challenges it has faced.

- The geographical extent of EH's area of activity and its very low population density — the lowest of any CPP programme — make it an extreme example of the challenges involved in overcoming low engagement with the arts and culture. Where many other CPP programmes operate within densely-population urban areas, making engagement targets easier to reach, in West Cumbria EH has to contend with a place that is 'regional' in its dimensions.

- Related to EH's ability to grapple with linking up places and communities that are dispersed over large distances is the issue of the relatively poor communications and transport infrastructure of West Cumbria, which is also reflected in its underdeveloped cultural infrastructure

- The report identifies some of these challenges as being rooted in the peculiar economy of West Cumbria, particularly in Copeland, whose long dependence on Sellafield Ltd and its nuclear industry supply chain as the main economic driver, inhibits the demand for and development of a more extensive cultural infrastructure or, indeed, cultural sector. The dependence of many arts organisations on Sellafield's financial support is also understood as creating a atmosphere of paternalism, which EH's model of cultural engagement directly challenges.

- We also highlight the issue of the region’s relatively static private rented housing market, which we take as a proxy for a lack of economic vitalism, and a problem that must be faced if organisations — such as EH — are unable to recruit younger creatives who may be at early stages in their career and unable to buy themselves onto the housing ladder. To the extent that EH now has a track record of bringing through local people into creative roles, it has not only tackled problems it faced with recruitment initially, but is creating the self-generating cultural environment that makes engagement much more than something limited in time

- The implicit message of EH’s adaptation to the cultural environment of West Cumbria, is that persistence in finding a way to work within the given constraints and limits can create a new environment, a new cultural ecology and raised expectations of what it is possible.

- We view EH's model of community engagement in creativity as new and distinct within a West Cumbrian context that was, until very recently, still prepared to splash large amounts of funding on expensive works of public art — something it had experience of in the 1990s and 2000s —with a view to positioning culture as principally a consumer experience that would be enjoyed by visitors to the area as much as it would be available to local communities.

- EH, we argue, understands the nature and demands of the present and the role of contemporary arts and culture within that, which is broadly to raise to the surface creativity in everyday life, in such a way that participation and the ability to contribute to the life of places in ways that engage the talents of everyone becomes more possible than it was before.

- The report examines EH's citizen's jury model —and the related community evaluation framework — as examples of situated practice and process that engage communities in not only making decisions about how budgets are spent, but in making the rules for their own practice as parts of this Arts Council England programme.

- We highlight, in this respect, the use of artists and cultural creators in facilitating an atmosphere in which the creative possibilities of the arts are brought to the fore, and in which the use of play in activity has allowed members of the Jury and Evaluation group to think and act creatively themselves.

The Challenge of West Cumbria

CULTURE & ECONOMY

Since the mid-20th century, the economy of West Cumbria has been dependent on the nuclear industry. The reasons for this are rooted in the region's geography, the mid-to-late 20th century eclipse of the industries that defined its economy, and the subsequent desire to ensure there were employment opportunities for the local population. In large measure, and in Copeland particularly, these jobs belong to the nuclear industry and its supply chain. The development of such an economic base is also closely tied to West Cumbria's remote location, far enough from densely populated areas that the inherent dangers involved in, first, nuclear power generation and, later, the reprocessing of spent fuel, did not expose more people to the risks of these activities.

In more recent decades, West Cumbria also promoted itself as Britain's Energy Coast, a designation that referred to moves that positioned the region as a place where innovations in low carbon nuclear and renewable energy aim not only to make the region itself economically sustainable, but to put it in a position to contribute more widely to the development of environmentally sustainable methods of energy production.

The principal landmarks on the Energy Coast included not only its most well-known site, Sellafield — which for over fifty years until the closure of the Magnox Reprocessing Plant in 2022, extracted new sources of energy from spent fuel rods — but a high-tech research sector increasingly focused on energy, much of it located at Westlakes Science and Technology Park and in a number of Whitehaven-based companies / organisations. Other elements of the 'Energy Coast' infrastructure include Energy Coast UTC, aka University Technical College, and the National College for Nuclear (both at the Lillyhall Business Park). Importantly, this economic base also helps to define the culture of the region as one that is orientated towards science, technology and innovation.

One major issue that the region now faces is how to deal with legacy wastes currently stored at Sellafield, which will require to be safely contained for at least 100,000 years, a timescale far in excess of any conventional understanding of time as a quantity or quality that is relatable to the human experience of temporal duration. At present, a number of locations in West Cumbria are being considered as sites for a GDF (Geological Disposal Facility) to store the most hazardous of these materials. If it is difficult to say how this factor affects perceptions of West Cumbria as a place to live, work and visit, we can probably say with certainty that the future will likely not significantly alter the cultural identity of the region.

Indeed, research and Innovation, particularly as they relate to the nuclear industry, could be said to sum up one kind of genius loci (or spirit of place) that is characteristic of West Cumbria; one that has supplanted an older industrial

spirit of place, which — in cultural terms, and in terms of the traces it has left on the built environment — now belongs to heritage and collective memory (and is seen in works of public art in many towns, and in the remains of a number of industrial sites).

The arts account for around 2% of employment in West Cumbria, according to ONS data from 2023. There has, though, been an attempt to link the arts into the more prevalent regional economic drivers by promoting so-called 'STEAM' skills and knowledge (Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, Mathematics), rather than just focusing on the STEM areas. There exists a STEAM trail, created by BEC, at Westlakes Science Park near Whitehaven, but beyond this, and without further research, it is difficult to say how much the arts are promoted in schools as offering potential career opportunities

West Cumbria is also region that pays some of the highest median wages in the UK, but whose 'single industry' dominance and geographic remoteness has arguably deterred activity in the cultural and creative sectors, inhibited the growth of a leisure and visitor economy, which has an impact on the cultural ecology more generally, which in the words of one report can be defined as 'the complex of interdependencies that shape the demand for and production of arts and cultural offerings.' (Holden, 2015: 2) Another important aspect of this is that while the region entered and passed through phases of industrial decline, unlike other places, it never actually became post-industrial: the nature of its industry just changed. So, ideas we may have about the role of 'regeneration' through leisure or the arts in post-industrial places arguably cannot be translated seamlessly into the kind of cultural and economic environment that is characteristic of West Cumbria.

GEOGRAPHY AND POPULATION DENSITY

By comparison with most other CPP programmes, EH works over an expansive geographical area that might be described as regional in its dimensions, with a population of 166,00 spread over an area that at the time the funding was awarded for a West Cumbria CPP (combining Allerdale and Copeland Boroughs) made it one of the most sparsely populated parts of the country.

In terms of what this means for EH, if we look at ONS population data for CPP areas, West Cumbria has the lowest population per square kilometre of all programmes (84.5 persons), half of the next lowest CPP ('Transported', Boston and South Holland, 160.5 persons), and substantially lower than two other NW region CPPs, 'Left Coast' (Blackpool and Were) and 'Barrowfull' (Barrow-in-Furness).

— *Everyone Here*: 84.5 persons per km^2
— *Left Coast*: 2219 persons per km^2
— *Barrowfull*: 865 persons per km^2

Low population density, in combination with other challenging place characteristics that we will mention briefly in this document are, in the words of a recent cultural strategy document produced for the two councils, 'a vital indicator of how difficult it is to sustain a typical cultural investment model, and a scenario which isn't going to change until

West Cumbria changes and becomes more populous, productive and prosperous.' (Allerdale & Copeland Borough Councils, 2022: 4). Indeed, rather than becoming more populous, the region has a declining population

TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE

Prior to local government reorganisation in 2023 (following which Allerdale and Copeland merged with the City of Carlisle to create the new unitary council of Cumberland), the extent of the area that contained EH's target communities in West Cumbria can be illustrated by the fact that the distance between Bowness-on-Solway in the north to Millom in the south, is over 70 miles by road.

There are no motorways in West Cumbria, which means that a road trip between these two points has to pass through towns and villages along the coast, encountering a series of bottlenecks along the way. A single closure on the main coastal A595 road can quickly cause serious traffic problems that spread into other routes the connect to the coastal towns and villages. Aside from road transport, the area is served by local buses (routes have been restored and services improved in the last year or so, following disappearance of some services during the COVID pandemic), and by the antiquated railway infrastructure of the West Cumbria Coast line, a service from a bygone era that still runs on Victorian signalling technology and which has been written about in terms of the time-consuming indulgence required to take a trip from one end to the other.

A Cumbrian coastal rail journey, wrote Michael Williams, is among the slowest of all such remaining routes in the country:

> swinging in a great arc for 114 miles from Carnforth in Lancashire to Carlisle, sandwiched for most of the way between the Lakeland fells and the Irish Sea. By the time my 08.38 train from Preston to Carlisle plods its way to its destination, we could have travelled to London and back again. (Williams, 2010: 68).

Such realities are merely one of the reasons why many people find the prospect of living in West Cumbria intolerable. For anyone who is not a car owner, this situation makes life more difficult.

A more circumscribed journey on that part of the West Cumbria coastal railway that goes from Millom to Carlisle, connecting both ends of EH's newly enlarged area of activity, takes as long as a train from Manchester to London. Travelling the same distance by car, while affording the traveller more control over their journey, will nonetheless take almost as long.

HOUSING MARKET

If the private rental housing sector is taken as a proxy for economic dynamism within defined boundaries, it is instructive to look at available private rented accommodation via the custom maps that users can make with the *www.rightmove.co.uk* website. A recent search shows that in the entire area of Cumberland there are a mere 20 properties on the market at rents up to £700 per month. This general level of availability has been a constant during

the period that the author has lived in West Cumbria (since 2017).

These kinds of factors affect the ability of employers, particularly those attempting to develop forms of cultural work, to attract staff from other parts of the country who may have the right experience but are unwilling or unable to move into a place with a very low supply of rental housing, especially when buying property may not be an option for young creatives. One of the first things that many prospective inward employees will look at, especially those who do not have a foothold on the property ladder, is what the rental market is like. In Cumberland as a whole, and West Cumbria in particular, it is poor, lacking both capacity and choice of location (i.e., living in Carlisle is of little use to someone working in West Cumbria, because the travel time and cost will impact negatively on the quality of life). In West Cumbria, the situation is arguably created by the existence of Sellafield and its supply chain as the dominant economic driver.

Sellafield's dominance over the economy of the region is made manifest in some peculiarities that are related to the rental housing market. It is not unusual to see references to villages near Sellafield as 'bedroom communities' or 'dormitory towns / villages' for nuclear industry employees. The term *bedroom community*, as used in this local context — its origins are in American urban theory — seems to mean quite the opposite to what it referred to in that original context (namely, commuter towns that have no major centre of employment, but which are satellites of nearby cities). That is to say, in its conventional usage, the 'bedroom community' describes a place that people live with their families; the place that they call home, and which is the base from which they travel to their place of work, located a train or car ride away (Levinson & Christensen, 2003: 86-88).

It has almost the opposite meaning here in West Cumbria. Here it is not unusual to find 'bring your toothbrush only' homes (as one letting agent described them to me), outfitted essentially like holiday 'lets', which is to say, complete with bedding, furniture, kitchenware, giant TV screens and entertainment systems. There exists, in other words, a market in 'homes from home' which contain everything a person might need to ensure they can exist and work in the region without uprooting themselves and settling here.

It is an arrangement that caters to the many contingent workers pulled in from other places and who are in some way counterparts to the visitors to the Lake District — they are here for a while, then leave — and who form part of the nuclear and nuclear supply chain workforce who might only need to be in the area a few days a week, or a few weeks per month for the duration of temporary work contracts that could last several years (Scanlan, 2025: 13).

LOCAL GOVERNMENT CHANGES

In making a case for the special status of this West Cumbria CPP, based on geographical and other factors that we have touched upon briefly here, it is arguable that in pushing for a joint funding application from Allerdale and Copeland, Arts Council England may not have been aware of the challenges that working in such a large and sparsely

populated region would present. The Cultural Strategy for West Cumbria (Allerdale & Copeland Borough Councils, 2022) in the aftermath of the award of CPP funding to West Cumbria, was also undertaken with the support of ACE. It was launched the same month — April 2023 — that local government reorganisation came into effect, the result of which was the merger of Allerdale and Copeland with the City of Carlisle to create the new unitary authority of Cumberland.

The new Cumberland council, which had its own new priorities, did not to proceed with the cultural strategy that its predecessors in West Cumbria had developed and initially launched.

That is perhaps not a surprise, as no administration setting out on a new path will want to be bound by the recommendations of its predecessors. But at the same time, and within an unpredictable policy realm, it is difficult not to see such actions as a sign that the arts and culture will always face a fight in gaining recognition for the public benefits they provide for the common good, especially in times of austerity when culture is viewed as a luxury. This kind of view, however, overlooks how 'cultural policy [functions] as a crucial dimension of individual autonomy and democratic citizenship' (O'Connor, 2024: 163).

PLACE NAMES AND IDENTITIES

As noted earlier, since funding was awarded by Arts Council England in 2022, EH has had as its focus an area defined by the boundaries of the former Cumbria borough councils of Allerdale and Copeland. Taken together these units of local government were, for almost fifty years, what defined the geographical footprint of West Cumbria. In keeping with the practice employed by EH in its business plan and other documents and communications, we also refer in this document to the place that the programme operates within as 'West Cumbria'.

At the same time, it is worth considering the additional confusion and uncertainty that revolves around the use of place names in the region. The fact that that Allerdale and Copeland (the names of administrative units rather than places, per se) were dissolved in 2023, however, does not mean that West Cumbria, as an idea of the place people identify with, has ceased to exist in the minds of the people who lived there.

Beyond its particular towns, villages and locales, the larger regional place that people identify with — whether that is Cumberland or Cumbria — seems to be determined largely by age and familiarity, with those having experienced the creation of Cumbria in 1974 as young schoolchildren (now in their late 50s and 60s) living most of their lives with an idea of place that was different than that of generation who had already come of age by that point in time, who lived or grew up in Cumberland. Thus, for different generations occupying the same place, it was not unusual to hear reference to both names.

In a practical sense, however, what inevitably results from such boundary changes, if not from the use of different place names, is a difficulty in mapping the new onto the old, specifically when that relates to new data that seems to have no relation to places that have been, in some sense, 'abolished'.

In that sense, recent data reports from Arts Council England, which provide statistics relating to the new unitary authority of Cumberland — which incorporates the former Allerdale and Copeland boroughs, along with Carlisle — are not much use for understanding what the broader economic context is in the places that Everyone Here must do its work. This is simply because it is not possible on the basis of such reports to disentangle what Carlisle contributes to the statistical picture from what the former West Cumbria councils of Allerdale and Copeland contribute.

THE ARTS IN PLACE REGENERATION

Following the end of coal production in Whitehaven in the early 1980s, place regeneration efforts were driven by the aim of reviving economic fortunes through tourism, with the historic town and harbour envisioned as a destination that presented an image of the town's industrial and maritime heritage.

Across the country former sites of industry — now exhausted or abandoned — came to be seen as spaces for a potential cultural renaissance. It was an era of arts- and heritage-led initiatives, with landscapes that were once the sites of mining or shipping rebranded as sites of cultural interest, and often prominently featuring works of public art (Gee, 2017: 110). Indeed, as Historic England, the body charged with protection of the country's historic places and environments, summed up the spirit of the era by noting that 'from the mid-1990s public artworks were often promoted as environmental improvements to sites needing regeneration, from ageing seaside resorts and moribund town centres to former industrial locations' (Historic England, 2016: 6).

Besides the ostensible transformation of public places into open-air cultural spaces, bringing 'art' out from the more hallowed space of the museum and gallery, the new museums and — in the case of new institutions like The Baltic in Newcastle —were squarely aimed at creating new *audiences* for art and culture.

When we try to identify the actors involved when these trends were manifested in West Cumbria, the Arts Council, to be sure, played an important role in pushing the regions into making decisions that would likewise bring the arts and culture more out into the world to find new publics. But it would also be necessary to point to a range of initiatives, partnerships, trusts, corporate bodies, private companies and capital investors who entered the scene (often in partnership with local authorities) following certain incentives created by the UK government in the 1980s — and subsequently into the New Labour era — that sought to use the arts to stimulate culture-led regeneration. These efforts and initiatives could be taken to represent a certain ideal of partnership working, born in the 1980s and 1990s, that also happened to allow the government to divest itself of some of the responsibility it previously held for funding regeneration programmes by passing the responsibility onto others. With respect to the case of Whitehaven, the main players included not only Copeland Borough and Cumbria County Councils, but British Nuclear Fuels Ltd (later Sellafield Ltd), Whitehaven Harbour Commissioners, The West Cumbria

Development Agency, as well as numerous other organisations and entities, such as the Groundwork Trust, the West Cumbria Partnership, the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative, West Lakes Renaissance, and so on.

In broader terms, British culture in the early-to-mid 1990s would not only be remembered for its continuing economic problems, but also for the undeniable evidence of cultural regeneration in the arts and popular culture. If the latter is now often summed up by the phenomenon of 'Cool Britannia', the former was found in the fact that the once niche world of contemporary art had 'come to shine with some of the reflected glory of the fashion, film and music industries — a bright if distant and minor satellite in the firmament of mass culture' (Stallabrass, 1999: 1).

Both of those phenomena were largely driven by self-generating creative or commercial imperatives that were, and remain, clearly more prevalent within the setting of large and dynamic cities whose cultural life and eco-systems can thrive on the energy of changing populations and the influx of youth. But this cultural vibrancy represented historical trends that had the effect of widening the appeal of the arts and culture. Popular culture had always been driven by a combination of bottom-up creativity and industry-led talent scouting; and in the arts in Britain at that time, figures such as Damien Hirst and Tracey Emin were viewed as if they were pop stars themselves.

They became the focal points for a host of associated cultural activities and events, in publishing, television and other media, in ways that would have been then — and are still now — impossible to replicate in places like West Cumbria, which lacks the density of an urban centre and the creative energy found amongst a youth population that is constantly being overturned and refreshed due to the opportunities cities offer to those who want to pursue creative forms of life and work. It is an extreme contrast, but in the publicly funded arts, it can seem that the places that are dependent on Arts Council funding exist on a kind of life-support.

But in the 1990s, a change in how the arts was funded, which went along with the drive to make government funded arts and culture less elitist, came with 'the sudden, momentous advent of Lottery funds', to quote Richard Cork, who was then Chair of the Visual Arts Panel of the Arts Council of Great Britain, here referring to the unexpected financial windfall that drive a certain kind of place regeneration that used the arts as a driver of economic activity (Cork, 2003: 12-14). There followed many programmes that were initiated through Arts Council use of Lottery funding in the late 1990s, including a wide array of Millennium projects in the run up to the year 2000.

In the North of England, the pursuit and use of funding for economic development was explicitly about deploying the arts as a stimulus for re-imagining and re-invigorating places (Thorncroft, 1996). This created something of a mania for public art that reached a peak in the mid-1990s, when the North became the focal point for what was known as the UK Year of Visual Arts 1996 (Gee, 2017: 99-107). As one national newspaper reported, 'this addiction to art is shown most clearly in

Whitehaven, an old coal town which has been decimated by the collapse of its collieries' (Thorncroft, 1996). The harbour, formerly intimately connected to the shipping of coal from the adjacent mineworks, was to become site for 'a vast sculpture by the Spanish artist Eduardo Chillida,' intended to 'mark the west coast end of a cross country cycle track' linked to Sunderland on the east coast (Thorncroft, 1996).

As the *Observer* newspaper reported, the local district council was 'using "the visual arts" to define the renovation of the port itself' with 'tourism is set to replace coal as the trade on which most other trades will rest' (Ratcliffe, 1996: 63).

In the end, that landmark artwork — which would have stood as a counterpart to Gormley's 'Angel of the North' on the east coast — never materialised. It would not be the last such high-profile arts commission to be dangled before the public, only to vanish before it came into existence. A more recent example was the failed attempt to realise a large-scale work commissioned by Copeland Borough Council (and its partners) from Olafur Eliasson — one of contemporary art's global 'stars' — which was intended to be installed on a beach on the Cumbrian coast, part of a wider programme of arts commissions titled 'Deep Time'.

And while the latter was not an Arts Council commission, Everyone Here, belonging to a new era, and reflecting a shift from artists to community engagement, depends no less on its partnerships and collaborations, but in ways that are designed to bring communities even more into the picture; not just as spectators or consumers, but as participants and contributors to forms of art and creativity that may become more closely bound up with people, places and everyday life (Arts Council England, 2020).

Citizen's Jury and Community Evaluation

Situated Practice and Process

Everyone Here's Citizen's Jury, known as the Jury for Joy (JfJ), was established on the principle of sortition — by lottery — a method that is also associated with notions like 'direct democracy', 'democracy without political parties', 'deliberative mini-publics', 'participatory public engagement', amongst others. It can be seen within the West Cumbria context as offering a counterweight to what has sometimes been perceived of as a paternalistic political situation, arguably a legacy of how the region's economic base has developed since the mid-20th century, and which has resulted in communities becoming reliant on Sellafield Ltd, the region's major employer. This was certainly a principal finding of the consultations that fed into the *West Cumbria Cultural Strategy* commissioned by Allerdale and Copeland borough councils but –as noted above – was no less evident in the 1990s and early 2000s when an array of economic partnerships emerged to stimulate economic activity.

Other research by a University of Manchester academic who spent a number of years working with Sellafield's stakeholder groups identified this dependency, a 'combination of the company's benign patronage and the region's welcoming of it', as a 'problematic' phenomenon, which, when raised as a continuing concern about how public money was spent, seemed to be deflected by Sellafield (Kalshoven, 2022: 350).

Sellafield Ltd, in its own words, is 'determined to deliver the maximum social impact from the £2.8bn of taxpayer money we spend every year.' Sellafield Ltd acknowledge the risk of continued dependence in the language of their recent Social Impact Strategy, which speaks of assisting communities 'to thrive by supporting sustainable activities that create self-reliance and independence' (Sellafield Ltd, 2024: 2).

To the extent that this paternalism is evident, though, it can be said to have an impact on both the cultural infrastructure of the region (through Sellafield's funding for a variety of arts and cultural organisations) as well as on West Cumbria's cultural ecology, which is something far more difficult to define and comprehend and disentangle from the nature of its economy and the reliance economically on Sellafield (but, on the surface, at least, what we see today is an economy that hinders the kind of 'complex of interdependencies' that generate interest, activity and demand for the arts and culture and associated activities, whether as participants or consumers)(Holden, 2015: 2).

DEVELOPING A CULTURAL ECO-SYSTEM

EH and the Jury for Joy necessarily work in-between, amid, and in relation to the existing cultural infrastructure of the region. This relational position is one of the characteristics of entities that belong to eco-systems that — in important ways — are able to self-activate and self-generate with the help of infrastructural elements, as well as other 'things' that might be taken to exist outside of infrastructure, per se, such as people and communities, but which are really a part of it.

This would even be the case if EH becomes part of the region's cultural infrastructure in the way that other 'bricks and mortar' National Portfolio Organisations in Cumberland are. But as it is, and as we will touch upon more this in the final section ('Engaging the

Contemporary'), EH forms assemblages with partners and collaborators and the communities it works in to achieve its aims, and many of which are cultural components of West Cumbria's infrastructure in the conventional sense of that term. The term 'assemblage' is understood here to describe the efficacy of ad hoc or short term relationships that are found within certain spheres of activity, such as the arts, and the way in which entities (such as EH) are able to create relations between themselves and the time, space or environment that they exist within (Rabinow, 2011: 123).

The Jury initial sessions, facilitated by David Jubb from Citizens in Power, involved a sustained focus on the fact that the Jury represented a change in how things were going to be done in West Cumbria: as Jury members, they would be empowered through their engagement in a process that would also invest in them, by working through forms of collective learning that were not just instructional in nature, but designed to give participants the knowledge and confidence to go on to make decisions about what they would like to see happening with the programme. As a result of this new way of doing things, they would also have a responsibility which, over time and as they became more accustomed to thinking about the possibilities that EH was bringing into the open, it was believed that they would embrace enthusiastically. The Jury would become accustomed to weighing up ideas, formulations or strategies and learning that it was all part of the process of finding things that were likely to work to in the programme to be personally open, through debate and discussion, to the ideas of others.

We might also understand the process that is engaged in on these occasions to be susceptible to the kind of descriptive work that ethnomethodologists do. Ethnomethodology (or EM, not to be confused with 'ethnography') is a branch of sociology that examines 'micro'- level situational practices 'as self-constituting processes of social life' (Ferguson, 2006: 97). And, in fact, some of the earliest accounts of the distinctive approach EM brings to social understanding was focused on the work of juries, and sought to understand how they constitute themselves— or how they establish their own methods of practice — through situated decision-making rules and processes that are worked out in real time (Garfinkel, 1967: 104-115).

During discussions that took place in the first two-day gathering of the Jury it was not unusual for participants to engage in art criticism, voicing their opinions on what they thought were the shortcomings of the ideas they were considering, what they didn't like, and so on. Whether this through their feedback to artists who presented ideas for the Workington Lights Festival commission (the Jury considered a range of artist presentations), or as part of the various break-out groups thinking of ways that they could make the work of EH relatable to the people and communities of West Cumbria.

Some members of the Jury raised the example of another West Cumbria-focused (and high profile) arts programme that was called 'Deep Time: Commissions for the Lake District Coast' (the latter designation a re-branding of West Cumbria in such a way as to connect the place to the more marketable Lake District). In particular, several Jury members mentioned its commissioning of a rumoured '£50,000 work' — half of the amount that the Jury would have to commission arts — for a modestly sized piece of public art in the form of a clock that was installed on a water tower in Seascale, that had apparently been of 'no interest' to anyone. This, despite the high-profile of its commissions, which included (as mentioned earlier) the internationally renowned Icelandic artist, Olafur Eliasson, who was engaged to make a major piece on the coast at Silecroft,

close to Millom. ‘Olafur Eliasson’s new colossal artwork invites viewers to self-discovery,’ reported one magazine feature, ‘engaging them in an enchanting play with light, reflection, and space perception’ (Designboom, 2023). The fact that the much-trumpeted work — described in national media reports as if it already existed — never appeared, seemed to many an example of the kind of thing that the people in the region had become used to: things promised, but not delivered. Now, in its aftermath, and because it was perceived as a failed project, it is not unusual to hear people active in the arts locally mutter that the subject of ‘Deep Time’ must not be raised, less sensitives around the matter are activated. Such responses, for this observer, seems also to constitutes part of the ethos of the region; of not scaring away future arts investment from the same sources.

All of that is to say that within the context of economic-political realities of West Cumbria, EH stands apart and engages with the situation it meets on the ground, which makes it very much an exemplar of ‘the contemporary’ in its breaking down of hierarchical thinking about the sphere of culture and its role in testing new conditions under which it may be funded to achieve greater democratic participation (Ruffel, 2018: 32-33). And, in practical terms, we cannot overlook how singularly fitting ‘Everyone Here’ as a name for this endeavour is. By the simple act of involving members of the communities of West Cumbria more directly in how real funding was going to be spent in the commissioning of arts events and programmes, those who began to participate in these decisions were quickly engaged in the kind of consultation that is so often absent when public money is spent for the benefit of communities.

COMMUNITY EVALUATION

At the conceptualisation stage of this programme, an idea for a form of community engagement that would consist of evaluation of the programme by members of the community, was broadly outlined as being a core component of how West Cumbria Creative People and Places would increase participation in the arts, and address the core questions that Arts Council England set for this action research programme.

It was the intention for the University of Lancashire, as the Learning Partner, to be an important element in this approach to ‘evaluation’, which within normal practice is typically considered the preserve of experts who are brought in from outside to do something like ‘looking at the numbers.’ The work of developing the exact form of the community evaluation only got underway following the appointment of Kieran Sheehan and Sam Hunt as creative directors, in early 2023. They subsequently engaged the organisation Citizens in Power to develop a citizen’s jury, from whose number a Community Evaluation group was drawn.

The first sessions of a Community Evaluation group, consisting of five members of the Jury for Joy, were held in October 2024 at Florence Arts Centre in Egremont.

From the outset, and with the input of creative researchers (Emma McGordon, Beth Loughran and Portia Ungley), the evaluation group were introduced to the role that arts-based methods would have in the evaluation process. Where an element of performance or artistic expression was called upon to stimulate ideas and discussion, it became clear that whatever internal logic such methods may have in the respective fields of the creative researchers (poetry / spoken word performance, dance and movement), here, in this setting and with

a group pf participants that had been brought together to think about how they might answer ACE's core questions that they demonstrate a key aim of the programme insofar as their interventions bring creative activity to the fore and make it tangible in ways that encapsulate the potential of the arts to become generative in the sense of inspiring others to explore their own creative impulses.

The three questions that the evaluation group considered were as follows:

- Are more people from places of least engagement experiencing and inspired by the arts?
- To what extent was the aspiration for excellence of art and excellence of the process of engaging communities achieved?
- Which approaches were successful and what were lessons learned?

During these sessions the group also ended up spontaneously contending with philosophical issues around the nature of cultural value. What, they wondered, makes one kind of artistic creation or activity seem excellent in one context, but not in others. For instance, in a region that does not figure on the itineraries of international touring musical acts, it would be unreasonable to regard 'excellence' as something that is found only where we are able to see performers who have achieved international acclaim. So, does an aspiration for excellence, for example, necessarily get us mired in considerations of whether what is said to be excellent must be equated with what is popular? Or, is there some other measure? In what ways does having ambitious aspirations for EH end up being something that necessarily has to be understood within the local context? The group recognised that in significant ways, the opportunities for encountering or achieving excellence here, in West Cumbria, might not be the same as in other places that had a wealth and variety of cultural experiences to offer.

As we moved onto the second pair of sessions with the evaluation group, held on 6-7th March at The Rum Story in Whitehaven, the EH team focused more on the idea that we can learn something about creativity by thinking of the place of *play* in our lives. The arts (and literature) have conventionally regarded 'play as a spur to creativity' (Sutton-Smith, 1997: 7). But, in modern societies, play is compartmentalised or associated with distinct spheres of leisure activity or with non-adult behaviour (Sutton-Smith, 1997: 173-200)

One session began with a creative activity, ostensibly as a way of relaxing into the session and getting into the mood for thinking and talking about creativity. The participants and creative researchers shared clay between the group, which was to be formed into something that the participants thought expressed a creative urge. The question of how they might make such material their own was posed. The implicit answer was that they do this through play.

While the group were working on their pieces of clay, they considered whether the product of this activity had to be artistically good or worthwhile. How exactly do we think about these things? Perhaps it was more the case that in this kind of play, they would be doing more than making an object: they were also connecting to instincts, skills, and capacities for creativity that they may have learned to suppress in adulthood, or that they lost touch with for other reasons. Was there, in other words, some other intrinsic value or benefit to be realised from engaging in this kind of activity?

Taking a step back from the sessions, what is often thought to be characteristic of play is, indeed, its association with childhood and adolescence. Play to order is no longer play, but instead becomes akin to a rule-bound game or practice that has specific and perhaps closed goals (Huizinga, 1955). We may

learn to ‘play’ musical instruments, for example, by observing or adhering to certain rules of musical theory. The meaning of ‘play’ in this case might indicate a kind of activity that is performance-oriented, rather than one that embodies a submission to some (internal or external) stimulus or unbidden demand to play (Lewis, 2008: 46-48). The latter is different in the sense that it involves a person in a process that takes them from the state of being the one who decides to play to a state in which they become the one who is being played (as in being ‘carried away’, losing track of time, getting caught up in the moment, and so on). Play in that sense is capable of bringing forth ‘a plurality of other worlds’ (Ferguson, 2009: 181).

There is nonetheless clearly a repetition involved in different forms of play that can awaken creative impulses or tendencies. But so long as it is just play (and not purposive creative activity, like performing or ‘playing’ music in a performance setting) it might be defined in terms of being directionless and without any goals outside of the desire to play. Within the context of contemporary demands to increase participation in the arts, and to the extent that a democracy of access to culture begins to take prominence over expertise, play is something that may allow us to be in tune with the idea that everyone can be creative, everyone has something to contribute.

Play, therefore, can at once give form to a demand to give oneself over to what is novel, surprising or uncertain, or – in the play of the imagination – to be open to such things. Further, what makes play both compelling and something that as adults we seek to control is the possibility of play itself setting in motion an action that ends with our submission to something we may initiate but, to a greater or lesser extent, we do not always control.

EVALUATION GROUP SESSIONS

Incorporating novelty into the evaluation process also helps to move attention from an idea of evaluation that could make participants feel out of their depth. But what these sessions attempted to do was to challenge the idea that only an ‘expert’ can be an evaluator. The change in setting for the March 2025 evaluation sessions raised some thoughts that follow on from the consideration of the importance of play in breaking out of everyday habits or reactions.

These relate to what sociologists working in the symbolic interactionist tradition would refer to as the ‘staging’ of the evaluation meetings and how this staging, within an open and exploratory process, will have some impact on what subsequently takes place.

Beginning from the fact that members of the evaluation group had no prior knowledge of what form the evenings would take, they may have been caught by surprise when the creative researchers introduced the clay play (nothing like had been part of the first evaluation sessions), we can reasonably say that the purpose in doing this was not simply as a means of easing people into the session, but was to shift attention away from what might conventionally be thought of as the kind of actions, behaviour or expertise that were associated with work of a supposedly ‘serious activity’ such as evaluation (which, in the popular imagination, is something undertaken by consultants or scientists of one kind or another).

The point of the community evaluation model, by contrast, is to enable these participants, who are also JfJ members, to be the ones who would undertake evaluation (rather than the evaluation being conducted by external experts asking members of the community questions about the programme). There is, in other words, no real separation

between those tasked with considering the evaluation questions and the things that they are evaluating: at this stage, they have been part of the commissioning or approval of many of the programme's activities. In that sense, it becomes a self-reflexive process in which the participants learn from their prior actions as members of the Jury for Joy.

In staging the session in this way, the creative researchers ensured that the group were suddenly in a situation that they never expected to be in (at least on this evening). The American sociologist Erving Goffman's 'dramaturgical analysis' of social interaction offers a means of bridging the apparent gap between the spheres of play and seriousness, which were brought together in this session. Goffman posited the idea that everything we do, all the roles we fulfil or partake in (as parent, son, daughter, receptionist, teacher, and so on) can, in fact, be understood from a dramaturgical perspective. That is not to say that we act out scripted roles in our everyday lives, but rather to point to the fact that the performative aspect of social interaction engages us in forms 'impression management' that are play-like. As such, play and games can 'shed much light on the underlying rules, obligations, and demands of routine interaction' (Ducharme & Fine, 1994: 89).

For Goffman this meant that what is of interest in looking at particular instances of social interaction is the relation between role and self (not between self and other). So, we can ask, was adopting the role of an evaluator (something that we think only experts do) really to step far outside one's sphere of competence? Or did the discussion around play, creativity and expertise, produce an awareness that 'acting' as an evaluator in this context, was not much different than taking on the other roles that members of the group had become adept at handling inhabit within specific settings in their everyday lives?

We bring this thought into consideration because the evaluation method can be understood to be based on a set of approaches that are deployed as the situation demands. They are additionally part of a process that is not only about 'evaluation', per se, but about bringing to the evaluation group an awareness of what constitutes creative activity within certain contexts that influence also how we think about it. The objective is not only to answer the key questions that Arts Council England have set for the CPP programme, in general (which is to say, the questions that all CPPs must respond to), but to prepare the evaluation group to be able to seek out and commission forms of creative expression or engagement suitable for a programme like EH.

With reference to Goffman's dramaturgical perspective on social interaction, we would also highlight the importance of creative researcher Beth Loughran-Layton's contribution, which could be described as a synthesis of the serious and the playful — a combination of work and play — which was represented in non-verbal physical gestures and through the body. She later said that what she intended to show was that creative expression has a dual purpose in another way, in that it can embody the kind of 'working out' (in the sense of 'practice' or exercising a capacity) that makes us fit for purpose. And that in cumulative terms, the more we can express ourselves creatively, the more we can break through the inhibitions that may hold us back from such outward forms of expression that put us in what Goffman would describe as a centre stage position, exposing us to a certain kind of scrutiny we may be unfamiliar with.

The uncertainties of play challenged the group to respond in words or images. Implicitly, this form of artistic expression — a kind of non-verbal, non-written communication — will result in a

multiplicity of reactions, as those who are present engage imaginatively to interpret what they experience. That the group did so — by standing up and presenting their feelings and thoughts to the rest of the group — further highlighted the dramaturgical aspect of this new 'role' that they were now playing, and which may have contradicted everything they had come to understand about the meaning of 'evaluation.'

ENGAGING THE CONTEMPORARY

Everyone Here embodies an approach to engaging with the present through the arts, and in that sense, it is unique because it has adopted aims and practices that work within, between and amidst, and perhaps against, the structures, infrastructures and ethos that symbolise a paternalism that in many ways defines West Cumbria. This also works against the development of the kind of economic diversity that in other places allows the arts and culture to take form in significant ways as the result of processes that emerge and grow 'from the ground up,' generation after generation. But the idea of being in tune with 'the contemporary', of course, implies other temporalities. So, what more can we say about that?

As a place, West Cumbria can be seen — arguably as any other place in this country can be — as the site of overlapping temporalities. But here, we would argue, the nature of the relationship to temporality is quite unique and marked especially by two forces that pull in opposite directions. On the one hand, it is a place marked by an adherence to a collective memory of the region's past (and that past is marked visually and on the landscapes around the towns of West Cumbria in figures and monuments that situate its past as a centre of mining, along with the idea that this fact contains something of the essence of the place). That aspect of temporality, we might say, represents the past in the present as a powerful force in the place that is bound up with a self-image that it projects as its 'mythology' (to use the sociological terminology of Emile Durkheim, which, it should be noted is not a derogatory term, but rather conveys the memory of origins within a group or community that has been transformed through the upheavals of modern society)(Scanlan, 2025).

On the other hand, Sellafield and its associated industries operate within a temporal horizon that, at first glance, seems fixed on a definitive end date of 2040, when the final decommissioning of Sellafield will be realised. But as an end point or temporal horizon that is simply the more immediate marker of its future. Because a long future beyond that date is already on the minds of West Cumbrians who are currently engaged in a process to locate a suitable deep burial site for the safe disposal of the remaindered legacy waste that will need to be removed from the Sellafield site, some of which will need to be kept safe for at least 100,000 years.

That represents an exceptionally long future that surpasses any conventional measure of human time or history (we live by days, months, years, through 5-year election cycles, and can locate the present as a point in time that is around 10,000 years from 'classical antiquity', a fraction of that long future that hangs over West Cumbria). There are not many places where this overlapping sense of past, present, and future dominates how people think about what they are doing now. And that kind of problem undoubtedly focuses attention within the region in certain ways.

Between these two extremes — what we term the mythical past of the region and its infinite future — is the present. It is important at this point to understand what we mean when we claim that EH exemplifies an engagement with the contemporary. A shared interest in place therefore provides the basis for the kind

of collaboration and partnership working that — often towards limited, short-term, or other goals whose duration / conclusion, as in the case of EH — may be uncertain. Quite often this takes shape in lieu of established or well-resourced arts organisations or institutions in the region. In other words, place — in an important sense — pulls and pushes people into collaborative efforts.

The Creative People and Places programme illustrates one approach to developing the cultural infrastructure and broader creative eco-systems of places insofar as it is intended to stimulate self-sustaining engagement at the community level through arts participation and, ultimately, community ownership of a commissioning process that is funded by Arts Council England. But, more broadly than that, as a collaborative effort between a range of organisations, institutions and other partners. In this sense, the contemporary is not merely a synonym for 'the present' — i.e., it is not to be thought of principally as a term that designates some stage in historical succession — but on the contrary it is the condition of the present (Ruffel, 2018: 47).

What is characteristic of contemporary life and culture is the way in which it can be thought of as bringing all that was previously hidden to the surface, to be open and unconfined. This may entail attempts to bring to light creative, imaginative, artistic life in all its diversity, in ways that make what was previously invisible, or out of reach of the kinds of stimulation that had been channelled through existing infrastructures, a presence in our time and in places and public spaces where people may meet others.

As we have tried to show in this document, method and practice can't be disentangled, and, in that sense, there is no methodological model that pre-exists certain practices that are often necessarily (or even) intentionally open and exploratory in nature.

In creative practice research, as in other fields where an engagement with the contemporary is seen as a key element in what is being studied, the particular methods (ways of studying or understanding) should not force what are often 'live' or active processes into neatly pre-made moulds in order that they be more easily analysed. To quote the philosopher Jean-Francois Lyotard, the arts are concerned with situations that have the character of 'an event', and as such operate 'without rules' but enable us as practitioners to subsequently give an account of method and practice (Lyotard, 1984: 81).

What this means is that the rules of method, such as they are, arrive post-hoc and 'always come too late' whilst also inviting a situation in which 'their being put into work, their realization always begin[s] too soon' (Lyotard, 1984: 81).

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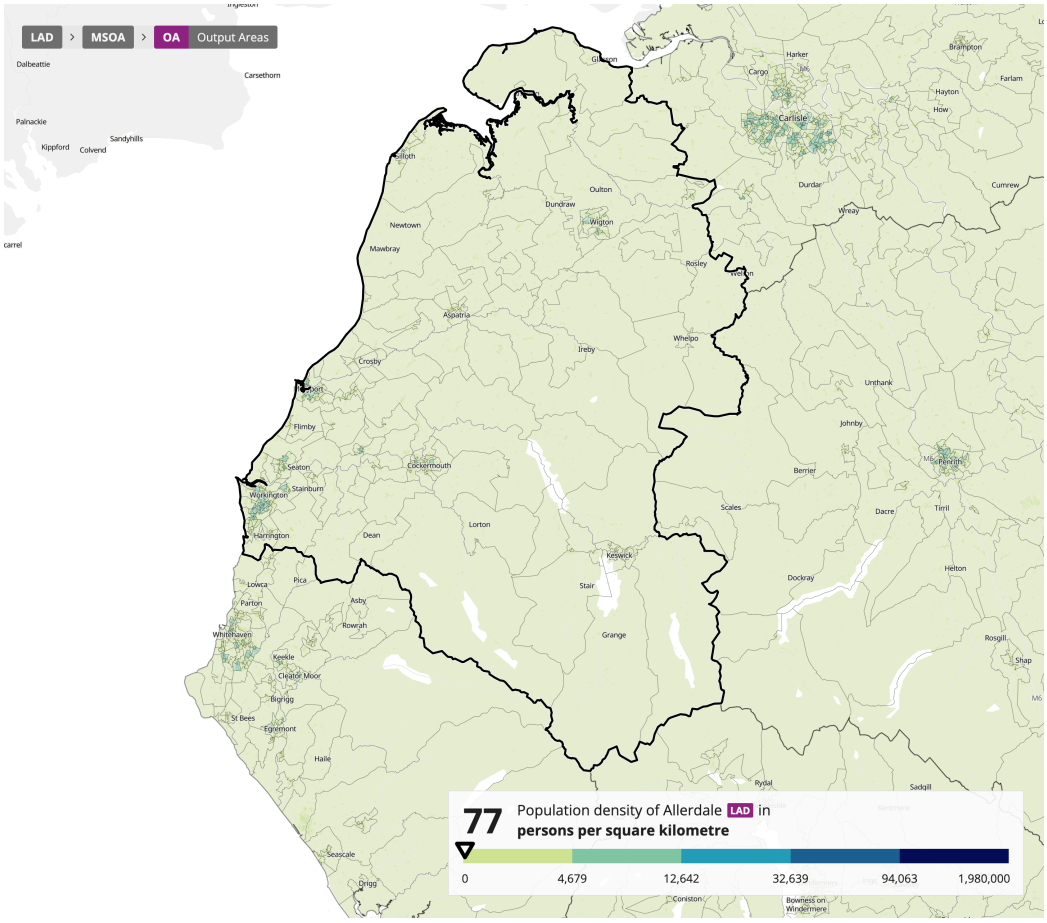
Appendix: CPP population data

Methodology for Calculating Population Density

The populations of each CPP programme area were calculated using data from the Office for National Statistics (ONS), based on 2025 figures. Where one CPP covered multiple LADs (Local District Authority's) the population statistics for each of the LADs were added together and transferred to the population table. If the CPP programme only covered one location, then this population data was transferred to the total population table. The same methodology was applied to calculate the total geographic area of each of the CPPs.

This data was then manipulated, the total population of each CPP was divided by the total geographic area of the CPP to calculate the population density of each of the CPP areas.

The data shows that the CPP programme with the lowest population density was the Everyone Here programme (see next two pages) which covers Copeland and Allerdale, and the CPP programme with the highest population density was Culture within Newham which covers the Newham area


LAD
MSOA
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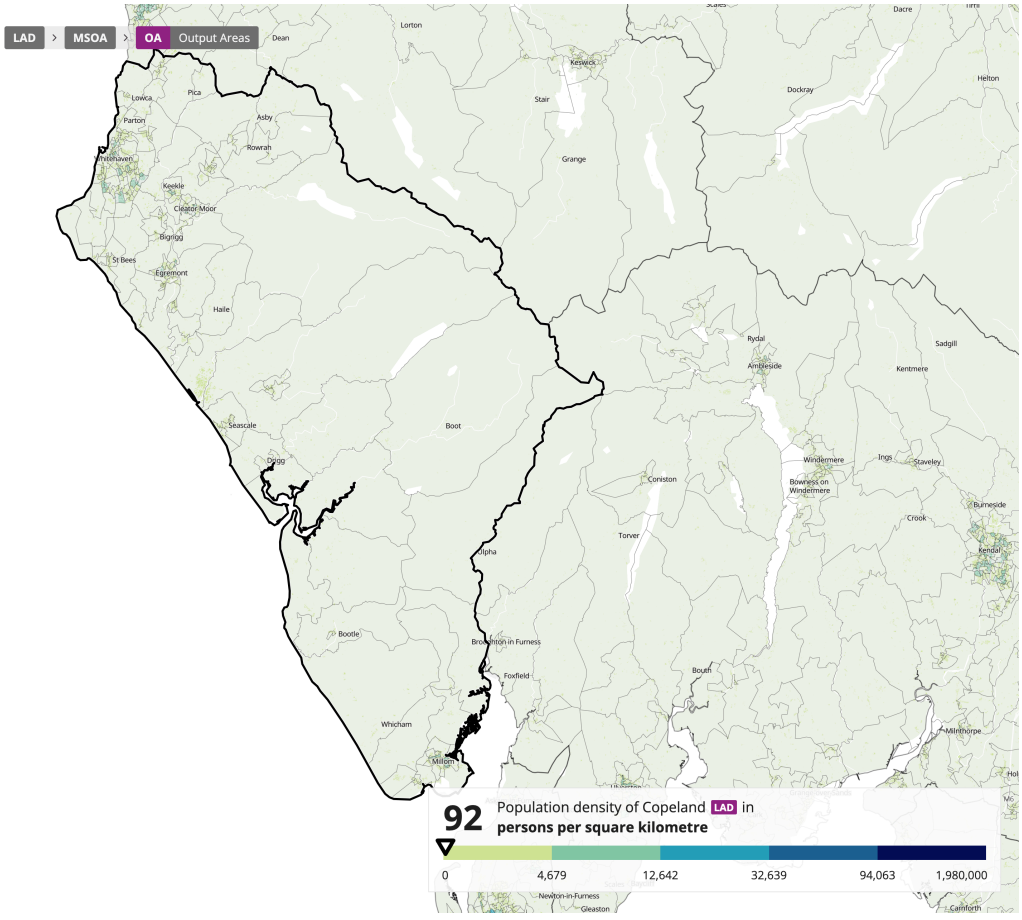
Population density of Allerdale LAD in
persons per square kilometre
0
4,679
12,642
32,639
94,063
1,980,000


LAD
MSOA
OA
Output Areas
92
Population density of Copeland LAD in
persons per square kilometre
0
4,679
12,642
32,639
94,063
1,980,000

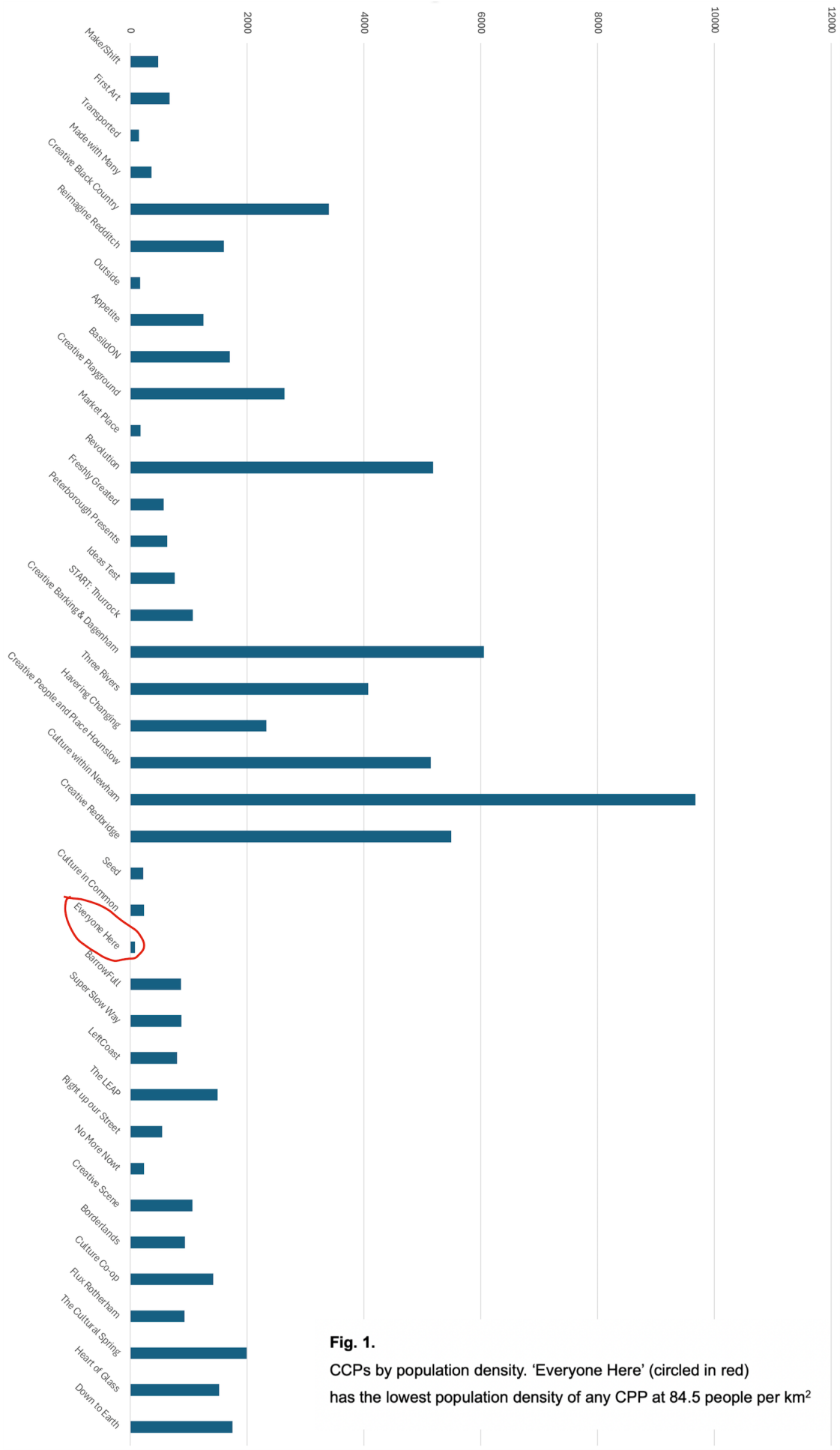


Fig. 1.

CCPs by population density. 'Everyone Here' (circled in red) has the lowest population density of any CPP at 84.5 people per km^2

Midlands

CPP name & location	Area (km²)	Age group (%)	Population	Density (km²)
Make/Shift Amber Valley	265	U/15 = 17 16-64 = 61 O/65 = 23	126,500	476
First Art Ashfield, Bolsover, Mansfield and North East Derbyshire	Ashfield - 109.5 Bolsover - 160 Mansfield - 77 NE Derby - 276 Total: 622	Ashfield U/15 = 6 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 20 Bolsover U/15 = 18 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 20 Mansfield U/15 = 19 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 19 NE Derby U/15 = 16 16-64 = 59 O/65 = 25	Ashfield - 126,400 Bolsover - 80,500 Mansfield - 110,600 NE Derby - 102,300	Ashfield - 1153 Bolsover - 501 Mansfield - 1440 NE Derby - 370
Transported Boston and South Holland	Boston - 364 South Holland - 750 Total: 1,114	Boston U/15 = 18 16-64 = 61 O/65 =20 South Holland U/15 = 17 16-64 = 59 O/65 = 24	Boston - 70,800 South Holland - 95,500	Boston - 194 South Holland - 127
Reimagine Redditch Redditch	54	U/15 = 19 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 19	87,000	1603
Outside Staffordshire Moorlands	576	U/15 =16 16-64 = 58 O/65 = 26	96,000	166

CPP name & location	Area (km^2)	Age group (%)	Population	Density (km^2)
Creative Black Country Dudley, Sandwell, Walsall and Wolverhampton	Dudley - 98 Sandwell - 85.5 Walsall - 104 W'ton - 70 Total: 357	Dudley U/15 = 19 16-64 = 61 O/65 = 20 Sandwell U/15 = 22 16-64 = 63 O/65 = 14.5 Walsall U/15 = 21.5 16-64 = 61 O/65 = 17 W'ton U/15 = 21 16-64 = 63 O/65 = 16	Dudley - 323,600 Sandwell - 341,700 Walsall - 284,300 W'ton - 264,000	Dudley - 3302 Sandwell -3995 Walsall - 2733 W'ton - 3798
Appetite Stoke-on-Trent (SoT) Newcastle-under-Lyme (NUL)	NUL - 210 SoT - 93 Total: 304	SoT U/15 = 20 16-64 = 63 O/65 = 17 NUL U/15 = 16 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 22	SoT - 258,000 NUL - 123,000	SoT - 2765 NUL - 585

CPP name, location & area (km^2)	Population	Density (km^2)
Made with Many Corby and Wellingborough -> North Northamptonshire * Corby and Wellingborough are no longer separate LADs They have been incorporated with East Northamptonshire Council, Kettering Borough Council, and Northamptonshire County council into North Northamptonshire LAD – therefore it is the statistics for North Northamptonshire that have been used to calculate population density. Total: 986.6 km^2	- 360,400	365

South East

CPP name & location	Area (km^2)	Age group (%)	Population	Density (km^2)
BasildON Basildon	110	U/15 = 21 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 17	187,700	1705
Creative Playground Crawley	45	U/15 = 21 16-64 = 66 O/65 = 13	118,600	2637
Market Place Fenland and Forest Heath Forest Heath isn't an LAD anymore it was incorporated with St Edmundsbury and changed in 2019 to West Suffolk (ONS, 2024)	Fenland - 546 West Suffolk - 1035 Total: 1,581	Fenland U/15 = 17 16-64 = 60 O/65 = 23 West Suffolk U/15 = 18 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 21	Fenland - 102,700 West Suffolk - 177,300	Fenland - 188 West Suffolk - 174
Revolution Luton	43	U/15 = 23 16-64 = 65 O/65+ = 12	224,800	5185
Freshly Greated Great Yarmouth	174	U/15 = 17 16-64 = 59 O/65 = 24	100,100	574
Peterborough Presents Peterborough	343	U/15 = 22 16-64 = 63.5 O/65 = 14	216,300	629
Ideas Test Swale and Medway	Swale - 373 Medway - 194 Total: 567	Swale U/15 = 20 16-64 = 61 O/65 = 19 Medway U/15 = 20 16-64 = 63 O/65 = 16.5	Swale - 152,200 Medway -279,800	Swale - 406 Medway - 1444
START: Thurrock Thurrock	163	U/15 = 22.5 16-64 = 64 O/65 =14	175,900	1073

London

CPP name & location	Area (km²)	Age group (%)	Population	Density (km²)
Creative Barking & Dagenham Barking and Dagenham	36	U/15 = 26 16-64 = 65 O/65 = 9	218,500	6055
Three Rivers Bexley	60.5	U/15 = 20.5 16-64 = 63 O/65+ = 17	246,500	4071
Havering Changing Havering	112	U/15 = 20 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 18	262,000	2331
Creative People and Places Hounslow Hounslow	56	U/15 = 21 16-64 = 68 O/65 = 12	287,900	5142
Culture Within Newham Newham	36	U/15 = 21 16-64 = 71.5 O/65 = 7	350,600	9678
Creative Redbridge Redbridge	56	U/15 = 2 16-64 = 66 O/65 = 12	309,800	5493

South West

CPP name & location	Area (km²)	Age group (%)	Population	Density (km²)
Seed Sedgemoor	564	U/15 = 17 16-64 = 59 O/65 = 24	125,800	222
Culture in Common New Forest	752	U/15 = 15 16-64 = 55 O/65 = 29	176,300	234

North

CPP name & location	Area (km²)	Age group (%)	Population	Density (km²)
Everyone Here Allerdale and Copeland	Allerdale - 1242 Copeland - 732 Total: 1,975	Allerdale U/15 =16 16-64 = 59 O/65 = 25 Copeland U/15 = 16.5 16-64 = 60 O/65 = 23	Allerdale - 96,400 Copeland - 67,200	Allerdale - 77 Copeland - 92
BarrowFull Barrow	78	U/15 = 17 16-64 = 61 O/65 = 22	67,400	865
Super Slow Way Blackburn*, Burnley, Hyndburn and Pendle * Blackburn with Darwen	Blackburn - 137 Burnley - 111 Hyndburn - 73 Pendle -169 Total: 490	Blackburn U/15 = 23 16-64 = 63 O/65 = 14 Burnley U/15 = 20 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 18 Hyndburn U/15 = 20 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 18 Pendle U/15 = 21 16-64 = 61 O/65 = 18	Blackburn - 154,900 Burnley - 94,700 Hyndburn - 82,300 Pendle - 95,800	Blackburn - 1129 Burnley - 855 Hyndburn - 1127 Pendle - 565
LeftCoast Blackpool and Wyre	Blackpool - 35 Wyre - 282 Total: 317	Blackpool U/15 = 17.5 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 21 Wyre U/15 = 16 16-64 = 57 O/65 = 28	Blackpool - 141,000 Wyre -112,500	Blackpool - 4041 Wyre - 397
The LEAP Bradford	366	U/15 = 23 16-64 = 62 O/65 =15	547,000	1492

CPP name & location	Area (km^2)	Age group (%)	Population	Density (km^2)
Right up our Street Doncaster	568	U/15 = 19 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 19	308,700	543
No More Nowt County Durham	2226	U/15 = 17 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 21	521,300	234
Creative Scene Kirklees	408.5	U/15 = 20 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 18	433,400	1060
Borderlands Middlesborough, Redcar & Cleveland	Middlesboro - 54 Redcar & C'land - 245 Total: 299	Middlesboro U/15 = 21 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 17 Redcar & C'land U/15 = 18 16-64 = 59 O/65 = 23	Middlesboro - 143,700 Redcar & C'land - 136,600	Middlesboro - 2671 Redcar & C'land - 557
Culture Co-op Rochdale	158	U/15 = 22 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 16.5	224,100	1417
Flux Rotherham Rotherham	286	U/15 = 19 16-64 = 61 O/65 = 20	266,200	929
The Cultural Spring Sunderland	137	U/15 = 17 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 21	274,200	1994
Heart of Glass St Helens and Knowsley	St. Helens - 136 Knowsley - 86 Total: 222	St. Helens U/15 = 18 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 20 Knowsley U/15 = 20 16-64 = 63 O/65 = 17	St. Helens - 183,400 Knowsley - 155,000	St. Helens - 1787 Knowsley - 1787
Down to Earth Wigan	188	U/15 = 18 16-64 = 62 O/65 = 19	329,800	1752

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Lancashire